

1961
Vol. I

R EVOLUTION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

by

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No. 2
Jan. 11

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1156 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington

REVOLUTION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

THE THREAT of Red-tinged revolution in many parts of Latin America in the early future confronts the United States with an unprecedented challenge. It is that the country come to grips with conditions making for political instability in nations to the south and thus foster orderly, free government throughout the hemisphere. The basic situation has not been changed, and may have been aggravated, by the United States severance on Jan. 3 of diplomatic relations with Cuba; nor would the challenge be removed by a complete diplomatic quarantine of the Castro regime by all other American states.¹ For, as President-elect John F. Kennedy warned last Oct. 21, this country's troubles with Castro's Cuba are "only the beginning of our difficulties throughout Latin America." Kennedy emphasized that the security of the United States "depends on Latin America" and said "The big struggle will be to prevent the influence of Castro from spreading to other countries."

Widespread illiteracy and lack of experience with democratic practices; corruption, police brutality and Communist subversion; desperate poverty and economic underdevelopment all have contributed to a faltering of free government in the southern half of the Western Hemisphere. Under these conditions, the Cuban revolution has served as a powerful catalyst for the forces of social discontent. William Benton, former Assistant Secretary of State, pointed out six months ago that:

A revolution is under way throughout Latin America — the struggle of 180 million people to propel themselves out of a feudal society and into the 20th century. A new middle class provides the energy and the leadership for this revolution. An old aristocracy resists, and a voiceless population of Indians, peons, and city slum dwellers watches.²

¹ To date, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Peru have either broken relations with Cuba or withdrawn their heads of mission from Havana. Corresponding action is reported under consideration by Argentina, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela.

² William Benton, "The Communist Threat at Our Back Door," *New York Times Magazine*, July 17, 1960, p. 10.

A dozen Latin American dictators have been overthrown since World War II,³ but violence and subversion continue. Within the past two months there have been general strikes in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, rebellion in Nicaragua, an invasion of Costa Rica, an attempted overthrow of the Guatemalan government, clashes in Bolivia, student strikes in Haiti, leftist riots in Venezuela, a Peronista uprising in Argentina, and counter-revolutionary activity all over Cuba.

SOURCES OF MASS UNREST IN LATIN AMERICA

The social reforms championed by Fidel Castro in Cuba have won wide attention among the underprivileged masses of Latin America, and Castro's government is doing its utmost to export "Fidelismo" by means of propaganda, agitation, and provision of arms. But students of Latin American affairs say it would be erroneous either to overestimate Castro's influence or to single out communism as the sole cause of epidemic unrest.

Thomas J. Watson, president of International Business Machines, said in New York on Dec. 14 that "Any of us who happened to have been born 20 to 40 years ago in South America would . . . be resentful of the government under which we live, and most anxious to overthrow it and put in any other kind of government that offered us any promise for the future." An American sociologist sympathetic to the social aims of the Castro government has written:

Today the revolution is going on in Cuba; tomorrow—not next year—it is going to be going on elsewhere . . . Revolutions . . . come out of misery, out of conditions like those of old Cuba. Where such conditions continue . . . , there'll be revolutions. . . . That is why this continent is going to become the scene of convulsions.⁴

Brazilian Foreign Minister Horacio Lafer attributed the increasing unrest, Nov. 19, to "a wave of provocations on the part of elements attempting to overthrow representative democracy and to supplant it with regimes of force either of the right or the left. He went on to say that "Foreign meddling and the export of ideologies and revolutions is now being felt in almost all Latin American countries." Latin American experts agree, however, that even without the arms, money, and counsel supplied by outside revolutionaries, political upheavals will continue until a

³ See "Revolutionary Ferment and Democratic Processes," *E.R.R.*, 1959 Vol. I, pp. 81-88.

⁴ C. Wright Mills, *Listen Yankee* (1960), p. 29.

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new, more broadly based social and economic equilibrium is attained.

CASTRO'S POLICY OF PROMOTING NEW UPRISENGS

Cuba has been issuing inflammatory statements and training leftists of neighboring Caribbean states in guerrilla warfare ever since Fulgencio Batista's regime was ousted on Jan. 1, 1959. The U.S. State Department in a memorandum made public last Aug. 5 declared that:

The revolutionary government of Cuba, in close association with Communists and extremists in the countries of the Americas has been organizing, supporting, and encouraging a number of revolutionary leaders and movements of other countries designed to undermine and violently overthrow existing national governments. . . . Included among the targets . . . is the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico where an objective is to . . . assist a handful of Puerto Rican radicals whose avowed policy is the overthrow of the government . . . by violent means and to bring about revolutionary changes contrary to the will of the people of Puerto Rico.

The Castro regime seeks by promoting the overthrow of other governments to end Cuba's isolated position as a pro-Communist state and to help consolidate its own revolution. Ernesto Guevara, Argentine-born Communist now director of the Cuban National Bank, said on Nov. 21 during a Far Eastern tour that reform in Latin America "will not be through ballot boxes, nor through building up an underground opposition, nor through winning parliamentary seats by cleverly maneuvering—as in hypocritical Latin American democracies . . . [but] through armed struggle of the people sharply directed against the opposition clique."

Earlier this year, Guevara wrote a handbook—*La Guerra de Guerrillas* (Guerrilla Warfare) — which is now being used as a guide by leftists in other Latin American countries.⁵ It gives detailed instructions on how revolutionaries, setting out with a group of only 25 to 50 men, can in time topple a government. *Guerrilla Warfare* covers everything from use of incendiary missiles to use of women in guerrilla fighting.

Guevara asserts that Cuba has made "three fundamental contributions to the mechanics of revolutionary movements in America" by demonstrating that (1) "the forces of the

⁵ Chilean officials found last May that bags of sugar and piles of clothing, shipped as disaster relief by the Cuban government, carried copies of Guevara's handbook and blueprints for revolution in "Our America." Moscow has announced that Guevara's book will be published in Russian translation this year.

people can win a war against the army"; (2) it is not always necessary to wait for ideal conditions before starting a revolution; (3) in Latin America revolutions should not be fought in cities, where historically they have started, but in rural areas.

CUBAN AID TO LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARIES

Fidel Castro told his followers last July 26: "We promise to continue making the nation the example that can convert the Cordillera of the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of the American continent." A steady stream of leaflets originating in Havana proclaims that "Our revolution is your revolution. . . . What are you doing, comrade, in your own country?"

Soon after his victory in Cuba, Castro made men, money and arms available to exiles of Caribbean countries intent on overthrowing the existing governments. An investigating committee of the Council of the Organization of American States concluded that in April 1959 "The Republic of Panama was the victim of an invasion, organized abroad, that sailed from a Cuban port and was composed almost entirely of foreigners." The chairman of the committee stated that 82 of the 84 captured invaders were Cubans. Similar reports were made in connection with invasions of the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua in June and of Haiti in August 1959.⁶

In continuing efforts to export "Fidelismo," Cuba reportedly is trying to negotiate an alliance with leaders of the three million sympathizers of former Dictator Juan Peron of Argentina and perhaps with Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic.⁷ In Venezuela, Pompeyo Marquez, a Moscow-trained Communist and friend of Castro, and Domingo A. Rangel, a deputy in the Venezuelan Assembly, have made it plain that they seek to overthrow President Romulo Betancourt and install a Castro-type regime. Betancourt's constitutional government stands as the greatest obstacle to plans of the Communists and Castro supporters to extend their revolution throughout the Caribbean. Experts say that if Venezuela should fall to pro-Castro forces, all of Central America would be imperiled.

⁶ These efforts failed for lack of adequate preparation as well as lack of popular support.—Victor Alba, "Fidelism for Export," *New Leader*, Sept. 5, 1960, p. 8. See "Invasion and Intervention in the Caribbean Area," *E.R.R.*, 1959 Vol. II, pp. 585-539.

⁷ Tad Szule, "Cuba Sharpening U.S. Dispute in Drive for Latin Leadership," *New York Times*, Aug. 4, 1960, p. 6.

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COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT INSIDE CUBA

Although millions of Cubans still shout enthusiastically for Castro, discontent is mounting among middle-class workers and others, and counter-revolutionary activity is spreading. Tad Szulc, *New York Times* correspondent, reported last summer that "Disenchanted Cubans are convinced that through his authoritarian and arbitrary policies and his intimacy with communism, the premier has betrayed the original ideals of the revolution."⁸ Bomb explosions, assassination attempts, and gun battles, all reminiscent of the Batista dictatorship, are once more part of the Cuban scene.

Intelligence reports suggest that the leftist dictatorship, while proclaiming the danger of invasion from the United States, has braced itself for an expected increase in counter-revolutionary activity inside Cuba. The island has been turned into an armed camp with a people's militia of 200,000 citizens, equipped with weapons supplied by Communist countries, reinforcing an army of about 25,000 men.

Explosion of a bomb in a church in Havana on Dec. 7 pointed up a growing struggle between the Catholic Church and the regime over the question of communism. Castro on Nov. 27 had accused the clergy of being "counter-revolutionists." He asserted that "These cassocked henchmen, far from the true preachings of Christ, began giving counter-revolutionary sermons in churches and writing parochial pamphlets." During the first week in January, the San Francisco Church in Havana, three seminaries elsewhere, and the plant of a religious publication were reported to have been seized or occupied by the Castro militia.

Despite a host of repressive measures, a thousand Cuban electrical workers, shouting "Cuba si, Russia no," marched on the Presidential Palace in Havana on Dec. 9 in the first open labor demonstration against Communists since Castro came to power. Thousands of sugar workers and cattle farmers are believed to have shifted their sympathies to the counter-revolutionaries as a result of the economic hardships that have followed Castro's Soviet-styled collectivization. Twenty-five per cent of the members of the Cuban labor force, or about 600,000 out of 2½ million workers, are reported to be unemployed.

⁸ Tad Szulc, "Most Cubans Back Castro," *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1960, p. 1.

The revolutionary government has been living off reserves accumulated by Batista, but large budgetary deficits have brought on inflation. It is believed that more than \$500 million in new currency was printed in 1960 to cover expenses of the land reform and other programs. Vast over-extension of public works construction, collapse of the tourist industry, restrictions on trade with the United States have all contributed to the economic troubles of the Castro government.⁹ Havana is striving to counter evidences of popular discontent by administering stimulants to the economy, but Castro is aware that Cuba's economic crisis may be more of a threat to his regime than the growing number of rebel bands in the provinces.

Among the largest of the anti-Castro groups is the Movement of Revolutionary Recovery. It is made up almost entirely of military officers, students, propagandists, and officials who were once companions of Castro. Manolo Ray, Castro's former Minister of Public Works, is the reported leader of the group. All members of underground organizations know that, if caught, they face either the firing squad or rigged trials.¹⁰

Desertions from the army, symptomatic of low morale, have increased the strength of the rebels. Despite efforts of Castro militiamen to rout guerrillas in the Escambray Mountains, their number is reported to have grown from fewer than 300 a few months ago to about 2,000 today. Because there is no machinery for orderly redress of economic and political grievances, an eventual clash between the rebels and the regular armed forces seems inevitable.

President-elect Kennedy said on Oct. 20 that "We must attempt to strengthen the non-Batista democratic anti-Castro forces in exile, and in Cuba itself, who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro." Kennedy added three days later that "All available communications—radio, television, and the press—and the moral power of the American government [must be used] to let the forces of freedom in Cuba know that we believe that freedom will again rise in that country."¹¹

⁹ In addition to reducing the Cuban sugar quota in July 1960 and withholding economic aid, the U.S. Commerce Department on Oct. 19 embargoed shipment to Cuba of nearly all goods except medical supplies.

¹⁰ There are said to be more than 15,000 political prisoners in Cuban jails. Escapees and ex-prisoners report mistreatment, torture, and abuse.

¹¹ President Eisenhower said in his statement, Jan. 3, announcing severance of relations with Cuba that it was his hope and expectation that "in the not distant future" it would be possible to resume normal friendly relations. Meanwhile, he extended sympathy to the Cuban people "now suffering under the yoke of a dictator."

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Arthur Gardner, former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba, told a Senate Judiciary subcommittee last Aug. 27 that the United States "ought to morally support any movement of Cubans that is willing to take the job on." He said the United States "can, under cover, support [these elements] and let them know that we want to have a change." Gardner agreed that unilateral intervention was out of the question, for it would arouse throughout Latin America deeply ingrained fears of the Yankee colossus. Meanwhile, doubts of the ability to obtain the two-thirds majority needed to apply multilateral sanctions against Cuba under the Rio reciprocal assistance treaty of 1947 have kept Washington from suggesting such action to the Organization of American States to date.

ANTI-CASTRO ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The White House announced, Dec. 3, that President Eisenhower had authorized use of up to \$1 million for relief and resettlement in this country of refugees from the "Communist-controlled" Castro regime. The President appointed Tracy S. Voorhees his personal representative to deal with the more than 40,000 Cuban refugees now living in Florida. Voorhees reported on Dec. 19 that the condition of the refugees was becoming "increasingly acute," and that most of the money would be used for transportation of the refugees to resettlement areas away from the cities where they are now concentrated and are creating an unemployment problem.

Many of the refugees have organized themselves into counter-revolutionary groups. Manuel A. de Varona, former Cuban premier, announced in Chicago on Dec. 9 that formation of an anti-Castro Democratic Revolutionary Front had been completed and that the operational phase of the movement was beginning.¹² Leaders of the D.R.F., meeting last June in Mexico City, announced that it assumed "as its historical duty the task of overthrowing the treasonable regime which the dictatorship of Fidel Castro represents, and vows to reestablish in Cuba a democratic and representative government." De Varona said in Chicago that "an invasion force is in existence" whose size has been estimated to be between 1,500 and 5,000 men.

¹² The *Miami Herald* said, Dec. 25, that some 200 Cuban refugees and "23 young Americans" were training near Miami for an invasion of Cuba. Photographs of training exercises were published and the names and home addresses of six Americans who had "signed up" given. Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa told the U.N. Security Council, Jan. 5, that "camps of mercenaries are maintained in Florida and Central America and paid for with American dollars."

In addition to training this force, reported to be gathering in the Yucatan Peninsula, the D.R.F. is smuggling guns, ammunition, explosives and supplies to allied underground groups in Cuba. Sergio Aparicio, New York representative of the organization, said on Jan. 4 that a D.R.F. force now building up "somewhere in the Western Hemisphere—definitely not in the United States" would be ready to strike in February. He believed that "an internal revolution" would explode "following our landings."

The exiles agree that, if they succeed in overthrowing Castro, they will seek to institute true land reform with compensation, abolish the Cuban Communist Party, stimulate private investment, restore friendly relations with the United States and with Latin American countries that have no dictators, and comply with Cuba's international obligations.¹³

United States and Latin Revolutions

LATIN AMERICANS tend to feel that the United States has forgotten its revolutionary heritage, has become a strong adherent of the status quo, and has little understanding of the need of political and economic reform in countries to the south. Yet former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, addressing the Pan American Society more than a decade ago (Sept. 19, 1949), said that while "we oppose aggression . . . we do not oppose change." He insisted that "We welcome and encourage change where it is in the direction of liberty."

U.S. ROLE IN LATIN AMERICAN FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The example of the United States exerted a powerful influence on Latin Americans who led the Western Hemisphere colonies of Spain and Portugal to independence in the first part of the 19th century. Those leaders had been profoundly impressed by the political ideals of the American founding fathers. They fully expected this country to extend military help when they were struggling to free themselves from European overlordship, but apart from granting prompt recognition as one after another of

¹³ "An Anti-Castro Uprising?" *U.S. News & World Report*, Dec. 5, 1960, p. 64.

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the colonial governments were overthrown, the United States gave no concrete assistance to the revolutions.¹⁴

At that time Washington had little confidence in the capacity of Latin Americans for self-government, and it opposed interfering in the domestic affairs of other peoples. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams said in 1820 that "So far as they are contending for independence, I wish well to their cause; but I have not yet seen and do not see any prospect that they will establish free or liberal institutions of government."

Except for adopting the policy embodied in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, United States aid and comfort to revolutionary forces in Latin America never went beyond expressions of sympathy. The Monroe Doctrine, while received with great enthusiasm in Latin American countries, was misinterpreted by their leaders. The expected reinforcement of the "American system" developed in the doctrine with a system of inter-American military alliances was not forthcoming. Monroe himself was careful not to commit his country to a military program beyond its powers or to a program of aid beyond the desires of its people.¹⁵

INTERVENTION AND NON-INTERVENTION POLICIES

The United States kept out of Latin American affairs for 75 years after declaration of the Monroe Doctrine. An era of active intervention began only upon outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898. The United States went to war with Spain out of sympathy for the Cuban revolutionaries and over the unexplained destruction of the battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor. After the defeat of Spain, American forces remained on the island for three years—until the Cubans appeared capable of maintaining their freedom and governing themselves.

Under the Platt Amendment, incorporated in a treaty between Cuba and the United States in 1903, this country acquired the right to intervene in Cuban affairs to preserve the island's independence, maintain public order, prevent excessive public debt, and forestall any agreement with a foreign power that might impair Cuban sovereignty. The

¹⁴ The U.S. policy of strict neutrality was designed to discourage other countries from intervening and to that extent aid the insurgents.—James T. Auchmuty, *The United States Government and Latin Independence 1810-1830* (1937), p. 236.

¹⁵ Arthur P. Whitaker, *The United States and Latin America* (1941), p. 563.

1903 treaty provided also for lease to the United States of the naval base site at Guantanamo Bay.

Political turbulence and resulting governmental instability brought interventions under the Platt Amendment in 1906-09, 1911, 1917-18 and 1921-23; they ranged from full-scale occupation the first time to counseling on fiscal reform the last time. During the first three decades of the present century there were interventions also in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and Panama under the general policy of protecting American lives and property in countries which could not themselves maintain order. These were resented not only by the countries occupied but also by other countries which believed themselves menaced by the "Colossus of the North."

Changes in Latin American policy began during the administration of Herbert Hoover. In 1930 the "legitimist" doctrine, under which recognition was withheld from governments attaining power by other than legal means, was abandoned. Once again the general test for recognition was control of the government with the apparent consent of the people and willingness and ability to discharge international obligations. Since violence often was the only means of changing administrations and putting new policies into effect, return to the Jeffersonian policy on recognition had a favorable response in Latin America, but it remained for Franklin D. Roosevelt to carry out the final liquidation of the policy of armed intervention.

In keeping with the Good Neighbor policy enunciated by F.D.R. in his first inaugural address, the United States subscribed in December 1933 to a Convention on the Rights and Duties of States which made the principle of non-intervention a part of inter-American treaty law. The convention declared that "No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another" and, further, that "The territory of a state is inviolable and may not be the object of military occupation nor of other measures of force imposed by another state directly or indirectly or for any motive whatever, even temporarily." Abrogation of the Platt Amendment followed in 1934.

Since World War II, Communist strategy has been to create situations in Latin America which would force direct intervention by the United States. When President Eisenhower thought the life of Vice President Nixon was being

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endangered by Communist-inspired riots in Caracas in May 1958, he ordered Marine Corps detachments to two Caribbean posts for action in Venezuela if needed. The mere possibility that the marines would be used served Communist purposes by creating doubt in the minds of many Latin Americans as to the firmness of United States attachment to the principle of non-intervention.

President Eisenhower last Nov. 17 ordered United States naval units to patrol the Caribbean and to shoot if necessary to prevent any Communist-led invasion of either Guatemala or Nicaragua. This action followed receipt from the governments of both countries of written requests for American protection from Cuban intervention "through the landing of armed forces or supplies."

Although withdrawal of the special Navy patrol was ordered on Dec. 7, when the governments of Nicaragua and Guatelmala said "the emergency which led to their requests has passed," the American show of force was, in effect, a warning to Cuba and the Communist bloc that the United States would not tolerate Communist-inspired invasions in the Western Hemisphere.

CUBAN CHARGES IN THE U.N.; CASE OF GUATEMALA

A complaint filed with the U.N. Security Council by Cuba on Dec. 31 charged that the United States was preparing "to carry out within a few hours direct military aggression against Cuba." It called upon the Council to "prevent the armed forces of the United States and its mercenaries from violating the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Cuba." Charges of "economic aggression" submitted to the Council in July and to the General Assembly in October had received support only from Russia and the Communist bloc; the Security Council in effect dismissed the latest charges, Jan. 5, by adjourning without taking a vote.

In a speech before the Security Council, Jan. 4, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa repeated all earlier charges and said the constant aim of the Eisenhower administration had been to "undermine and disfigure the character of the Cuban revolution in order to set the . . . groundwork for direct military aggression; in other words the glorious victory of Guatemala of 1954 is to be re-edited and repeated." This was a reference to the overthrow six years

ago of the leftist government in Guatemala of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

The situation presented by growing Communist infiltration of the Arbenz regime came to a head when a consignment of Czechoslovak arms was shipped to Guatemala via Poland in May 1954. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said at a press conference on May 25 that "By this arms shipment, a government in which Communist influence is very strong has come into a position to dominate militarily the Central American area."

One explanation for the rise of Red influence in Guatemala was that a small nucleus of Communists had been allowed to monopolize the social and economic reforms instituted by the government with the strong support of the people. As a result, opposition to communism was labeled opposition to reform. Moreover, it has been stated that the young military leaders and former students responsible for the revolution were unaware of the differences between the international Communist movement and their own indigenous national revolutionary movement.¹⁶

The threat of a Communist beachhead in the Caribbean was ended when Guatemala was invaded on June 18 from neighboring Honduras by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, an exiled Guatemalan army officer. It has been alleged, but never documented, that Armas received secret assistance from the United States. The overthrow of the Arbenz government aroused widespread resentment in Latin America where it was almost universally believed that the United States had brought it about. Some responsible observers in the United States also concluded that when confronted with an intolerable threat of subversion in Central America, the Washington government had felt it necessary to depart from strict adherence to the principle of non-intervention and collective action by the American republics.

U.S. ARMS AID TO LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS

The United States has shipped substantial quantities of military equipment to Central and South America in order to prevent the individual states from accepting arms from Communist countries. Under the authorization of various Mutual Security acts, the United States has extended military aid to other American republics for "defense of the

¹⁶ Robert J. Alexander, *Communism in Latin America* (1957), p. 354.

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"Western Hemisphere" in an amount reported by the Defense Department to have totaled \$350 million during the 10 years ended June 30, 1960.

Despite its comparatively small size, numerous objections have been raised to the military aid program for Latin America. The chief of these are that (1) military aid to dictatorial governments has tended to identify the United States with maintenance of dictatorships; (2) arms tend to strengthen and perpetuate militarism in Latin America; and (3) military assistance to certain governments has created friction in the hemisphere (some governments are said to have used American arms for aggressive purposes).

One aspect of the military assistance program—the training of Latin American officers in the United States—has been widely praised. Because the military often exert leadership and influence at home, their training in this country has helped to cement bonds of friendship and to give them an appreciation of the working of American democracy.

Communist Meddling in Latin America

RUSSIA and Red China have openly espoused Fidel Castro's dictatorship as the pattern to be promoted for all nations of Latin America. At a press conference last May, Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev said "I can but welcome the events in Cuba . . . [and] I am convinced that other Latin American countries will also rise up in the struggle for their independence." Khrushchev added that Communist countries would "sympathize with their struggle and applaud their successes in this fight." Economic aid, trade agreements, propaganda, arms shipments, and technical assistance have demonstrated the depth of the Communist purpose to use the Cuban revolution as an instrument of foreign policy.

SOVIET AND CHINESE AID TO REVOLUTIONARY CUBA

Communist influence has become firmly entrenched in nearly all branches of the Cuban government. The Soviet Union and Communist China have opened embassies in Havana, and both have sent hundreds of "technicians" to

aid the revolutionary government. The State Department said in a memorandum issued last Aug. 5:

The increasingly intimate relationships established between the revolutionary movement of Cuba and the governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, and other countries associated with them, are such as to create a deep concern on the part of other American governments because of the growing evidence of the intention of the Communist powers to exploit these relationships for the purpose of actively intervening in the affairs of the American continent.

Although some question still exists as to whether Castro himself is a Communist, his regime is unmistakably pro-Communist. The Communist Party is the only legal party in Cuba;¹⁷ anyone who is anti-Communist is a "counter-revolutionary." Civil liberties have been extinguished; the secret police have established an informer system and a widespread network of agents; a people's militia reinforces the army. The key, decision-making positions in the government are increasingly held by Communists and pro-Communists—among them Maj. Raul Castro, Capt. Antonio Nunez Jimenez, Carlos Olivares, and Maj. Ernesto Guevara, all of whom have made extensive trips behind the Iron Curtain. A purge of anti-Communist elements is under way in labor unions, the university, the armed forces, and in all other areas of national significance.

Raul Castro said last July 21 that Cuba was profoundly grateful for "the political and moral support the Soviet Union is giving the Cuban people." More specifically, some 15 Soviet ships have delivered arms and ammunition to Cuba since July of last year, bringing the total to about 30,000 tons. This includes at least 45,000 Czech automatic rifles, 10,000 submachine guns, 40 tanks, and 12 million pounds of ammunition.¹⁸

During the recent visit in Peking of an economic mission led by Maj. Guevara, a 240-million-ruble, interest-free loan was extended for "equipment and other technical aid to help Cuba develop its economy." The State Department denounced the arrangement on Dec. 1 as "one more indication" of Castro's drive to tie Cuba to the Communist bloc. The agreement, it said, underscored "the Chinese

¹⁷ Party membership is estimated at about 50,000, or less than 1 per cent of the population. The party is attempting to enlarge its membership through a junior branch called "Socialist Youth."

¹⁸ State Department press release, Nov. 18, 1960.

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Communist determination to secure a greater foothold in the Western Hemisphere." The new loan brings to \$200 million the total credits extended to Cuba by the Sino-Soviet bloc, not counting military aid.

Russia, however, has avoided full-scale backing of Castro. It was reported that Guevara urged the Kremlin on his recent trip to Moscow to completely underwrite the Cuban economy and accept a stand-or-fall identification with the Castro regime. The Soviet Union promised, Dec. 19, to help Cuba build a steel mill, an oil refinery, electric power stations, and other "complete industrial enterprises." But Moscow is believed to fear too close an association with a regime that may ultimately be thrown out of power. Furthermore, the economic assistance needed by Cuba may be more than the Soviet Union is willing to provide, especially since it is reported that there is some dissatisfaction in Moscow with the personal anarchy of Fidel Castro.

Teresa Casuso, until recently a member of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations and formerly a close friend of Castro, said in New York on Oct. 30: "I think the Soviet Union has found out that it is terrible to deal with Castro because he is unpredictable." She added that Castro "follows his own idea on the spur of the moment and that is not the behavior of a Communist and is nothing they can handle."

EXTENT OF RED OPERATIONS IN THE LATIN NATIONS

Communist parties exist today in all Latin American countries. Their clandestine operations, designed to provoke dissension and lead to ultimate breakdown of free institutions, are being supported and financed by the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and China.¹⁹ Boris N. Ponomarev, a key member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said in the October 1958 issue of *Kommunist*:

Latin America is a seething volcano. As in one country, so in another, outbursts are taking place which are sweeping away reactionary regimes and loosening the nooses which U.S. monopolies have thrown on their economy. The Communist parties in Latin America ever more closely coordinate their activities in the struggle against the common enemy—U.S. imperialism. The revolutionary movement is of a universal nature.

¹⁹ The Communist Party is legal in only eight Latin American states, but 220,000 Communists are active in the region as a whole. It is estimated that there are 75,000 Communists in Argentina, 50,000 in Brazil, and about 35,000 in Venezuela.

Communist parties in Latin America, as in other free world areas, work ceaselessly to disrupt, discredit, or subvert organizations and groups which stand in their way. They seek to weaken free trade union movements and infiltrate political parties not serving their purposes. They have allied themselves with dictators such as Batista, Peron and Trujillo to help smash democratic groups. This opportunistic collaboration has enabled the Communists to penetrate more deeply and to undermine the indigenous radical and liberal groups.²⁰

From headquarters in its embassies in Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and Montevideo, the Soviet Union is believed to be spending \$100 million a year to promote espionage, strikes, subversion, riots, and revolution. Around 175 hours of propaganda a week are beamed to Latin America from powerful radio stations behind the Iron Curtain. It is estimated that 1½ million copies of Communist magazines and books come off the presses at Buenos Aires each month, in addition to the more than 100 different periodicals imported in quantity from the Soviet bloc. Most of these publications are subsidized by Moscow.

Ernesto Guevara, speaking before the Latin American Youth Congress in Havana on July 29, called upon Latin American nations to choose sides as "friend or foe." He said the friendship of the Sino-Soviet bloc "can be the basis for the carrying out of the American revolution."

KINDS OF ACTION REQUIRED TO BLOCK RED INROADS

Foreign ministers of the Organization of American States declared at San José, Costa Rica, on Aug. 24 that "The stability of democracy, the safeguarding of human rights, the security of the hemisphere, and the effective functioning of the inter-American system in all fields of activity will be possible when the great inequalities of development existing among the American nations have been overcome." Sen. George D. Aiken (R Vt.) said on Feb. 2, after a study mission in Latin America, that the area was "in a race between evolution and revolution." The crucial question was "whether Latin American democratic political institutions are sturdy enough to bring about the needed economic and social reforms quickly enough."

President-elect Kennedy said in a television debate with

²⁰ *Soviet Bloc Latin American Activities* (staff study by Corporation for Economic and Industrial Research, Feb. 28, 1960), p. 703.

Revolution in the Western Hemisphere

Vice President Nixon on Oct. 21 that "We're going to have to try to provide closer ties, to associate ourselves with the great desire of these people for a better life, if we're going to prevent Castro's influence from spreading throughout Latin America." Adolph A. Berle, Jr., who served from 1938 to 1944 as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and later as ambassador to Brazil, has written that one of the ways for the United States to associate itself with the people is for U.S. officials to "maintain relations with individuals in, and leaders of, the opposition, of trade unions, of university life, as well as with government officials and formal society."²¹

Latin American specialists are convinced that the United States must adopt a much more sympathetic attitude toward non-Communist leftist groups, and that there should be no condemnation of neutralist forces which oppose alignment of their countries with either the East or the West in the world power struggle. All-out support of efforts such as those of President Adolfo Lopez Mateos of Mexico and others to bring about full development of an emerging common market in Latin America would help to arrest the economic deterioration on which revolutions thrive.²²

President Eisenhower proposed last July 11 that the United States and other Western Hemisphere countries co-operate in a program to help Latin American peoples satisfy their "aspirations and needs . . . for free institutions and a better way of life." The Eisenhower program received preliminary sanction when Congress, in legislation approved Sept. 8, authorized appropriation of \$500 million to aid the social development and economic growth of Latin America. However, actual provision of funds was left to the 87th Congress, and coincidence of the President's proposals with Communist ascendancy in Cuba gave ground for assertions that Latin Americans had Castro rather than the United States to thank for this new attention to their needs.

The Act of Bogota, signed by representatives of 19 of the 21 American republics at an inter-American economic conference in Colombia on Sept. 13 (Cuba abstaining and the Dominican Republic absent), recommended more far-

²¹ Adolph A. Berle, Jr., "The Cuban Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, October 1960, p. 54.

²² Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay signed an agreement in Montevideo on Feb. 18 creating a free trade zone aimed to eliminate restrictions on at least 75 per cent of their trade over the next 12 years.

reaching cooperative endeavors. It laid special stress on measures for social improvement, including land reform, betterment of housing and community facilities, and improvement of educational systems and training facilities. Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon, who represented the United States at the Bogota conference, said that the \$500 million authorized by the U.S. Congress constituted only a "first step" and that the United States would dedicate "large additional resources" to the proposed "broad new social development program."

Arturo Morales-Garrion, Puerto Rican Under Secretary of State, has warned that the United States must begin "to attune its ears to the democratic clamor in Latin America." Americans "should not expect the upcoming generations to behave like British parliamentarians," because they are a "tough generation . . . not easy to deal with." No rosy propaganda would win them over and "no profit-making philosophy" would persuade them.²³

Latin American experts seem in agreement that only by avoiding support of extreme dictatorships of either right or left, by expanding present exchange programs and information activities, by cooperating with individual countries in stabilizing world prices for raw materials, by encouraging free trade agreements, and by curbing the activities of certain large American corporations will the United States be able to prevent the violent overthrow of free governments being sought by Fidel Castro and the Communist bloc.

²³ *The United States and Latin America* (American Assembly, 1959), p. 192.



